

CHAPTER IO

THE MUSLIMS IN EUROPE

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THE MUSLIMS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

THE confrontation and interaction between Muslin and Christian worlds spread throughout the Mediterranean from east to west. In the east, the conflict was essentially between the Islamic states, notably the Umayyads and 'Abbasids in the eighth century and the 'Abbasids and Tulunids in the ninth, on the one hand, and the Byzantines on the other. This conflict was played out on the long land frontier which ran roughly along the southeastern borders of the Anatolian plateau. It was also played out at sea where, by the beginning of the eighth century, the Muslims had shown themselves adept at naval warfare. The city of Constantinople was able to defend itself, but many of the coastlines and islands of the empire were subject to raids, and some islands, notably Crete, were occupied (Map 4). This struggle lies outside the scope of this volume (for further reading see the bibliography for this chapter). In the western half of the Mediterranean, however, the Muslims were able to establish sustainable states on the European shores and it is with these states that this chapter is concerned.

THE MUSLIMS IN SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY

Sicily, with its ancient Greek and Latin legacies, had long been a half-way house between two cultures. While in Gregory the Great's time, Latin influence, and especially ecclesiastical connections, remained strong, it seems that the seventh and eighth centuries saw the island becoming increasingly Greek in language, administration and religion. The loss of Syria and Egypt to the Muslims appears to have increased the importance of Sicily to Byzantium. In the eighth century, the island had no imperial pretensions, but it remained an integral part of the Byzantine empire, governed by the *strategos* of Syracuse.

Sicily was no more immune from Arab attacks than any other part of the Mediterranean coastline. The first raid was sent by the governor of Syria, Mu'āwiyah, later to be the first Umayyad caliph, in 642. In 667 a more extensive raid led to the capture of booty, some of which was forwarded to the caliph. In 693–4 the Muslims took Carthage and established their rule over the province they called Ifrīqiyyah (from the Latin Africa: essentially modern Tunisia) with its capital at Qayrawān. This meant that Sicily was now in the front line and the early seventh century saw numerous raids cross the straits. At first these were simply forays in search of booty but in 740 it seems that Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubayda was attempting an attack on Syracuse and a more permanent occupation.

The Arab assaults on Sicily were brought to a halt by the great Berber rebellion of 741. This resulted in a complete breakdown of Umayyad control in Africa and the absorption of Arab and Berber alike in internecine strife. The coming of the 'Abbasids did not immediately put an end to this: Berbers, mostly giving their allegiance to the Kharijite sect of Islam, continued to dominate the province. In 761 a large army of mostly Khurasānī soldiers (Khurasānīs, from northeast Iran, formed the backbone of the early 'Abbasid armies) was sent to Ifrīqiyyah under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'i. They eventually defeated the Berbers and re-established government in Qayrawān. Soon afterwards, however, the 'Abbasid administration was challenged by the *jund*, the soldiers of the Khurasānī army; the governor was expelled and in 765 power was seized by the leaders of the military. Thereafter, while governors continued to be appointed from Baghdad, the *jund* exercised an effective veto over appointments since only they could protect Ifrīqiyyah from the Berber Kharijites, now usually confined to the Aurès mountains of modern Algeria and the Zāb to the south and west.

In 800 the power of the *jund* was formalised when Hārūn al-Rashīd accepted Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, son of a Persian officer who had arrived in the province in 761, as governor. In practice, therefore, the caliph gave up his right to interfere in appointments. The pill was sweetened by the fact that the defence of Ifrīqiyyah had been a constant drain on central government finances, some 100,000 *dirhams* per year being forwarded from Egypt for this purpose. The governor Ibrāhīm actually agreed to send taxes east, though it is not clear that this was ever done. He attempted to consolidate his personal power by importing black slave soldiers as a private guard. This naturally alienated the *jund* who rebelled and were only pacified with difficulty. When Ibrāhīm died in 812, the Caliph al-Amīn was embroiled in a bitter civil war with his brother al-Ma'mūn. He was thus in no position to challenge the right of Ibrāhīm's son 'Abd Allāh to succeed him. Similarly

ʿAbd Allāh's brother, Ziyādat Allāh, succeeded him in 817 without interference and the independence of the Aghlabid amirate from the ʿAbbasid caliphate was effectively established.¹ This did not, however, solve the problem of finding a role for the expensive and demanding *jund* at a time when Berber opposition was steadily declining. Sicily was rich, near and inviting.

Since the great Berber rebellion of 740, Muslim raids on Sicily had largely ceased. Ziyādat Allāh (817–38) was faced by continuous unrest among the *jund* but, according to the traditional story, it was an invitation from Sicily and the naval commander Euphemios which was the immediate cause of the first major expedition. In response Ziyādat Allāh decided to send an expedition and appointed Asad b. al-Furāt as its leader. Asad's background was similar to many members of the *jund*. He had been brought up in Tunis and had studied Islamic law in the east before being made *qāḍī*.

The history of the Muslim conquest of Sicily in the ninth century is largely based on much later Arabic chronicles, notably the compilations of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234) and Ibn Idhārī (fl. c. 1300). The only near-contemporary Sicilian source to have survived is the so-called Cambridge Chronicle.² It exists in both Arabic and Greek texts and covers the years 827 to 965. It is useful for establishing chronologies but is otherwise very brief and uninformative. Both Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Idhārī are precise and careful about names and dates but are rather austere in their approach: there is little circumstantial detail or anecdote which we can use to reconstruct patterns of administrative or social life. Muslim Sicily, unlike Muslim Spain, never developed an intellectual milieu in which people collected and elaborated their early history. As Amari and, more recently, Ahmad³ have found moreover, the material we have does not enable us to go much further than a bare narrative of the incidents of conquest.

In June 827 Asad led a force said to have consisted of 10,000 men of whom only 900 were horsemen. Contrary, perhaps, to the popular image, most Muslim armies before the mid-ninth century were composed largely of footsoldiers. In the first campaign, the Muslims took Mazara in the southwest. Syracuse, however, was stoutly defended by the governor. The next winter saw the Muslim army reduced by disease, and the death of Asad himself, who was replaced by one Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Jawārī. By March 829, the Muslims only held the bridgehead at Mazara and were under siege in the small fortress of Mineo in the southwest from the new Byzantine commander Theodotus.

The history of Muslim Sicily might have ended at this point but for the

¹ Kennedy (1981), pp. 187–95.

² Lagumina (1892).

³ Amari (1933–9) I, pp. 368–677; Ahmad (1975), pp. 6–24.

arrival of reinforcements in the shape of a fleet from Spain led by a Berber chief Aṣṣbagh b. Wānsūs al-Hawwārī. After a year-long siege, the Muslim forces took Palermo at the beginning of September 831.

Thereafter the Muslims consolidated their power in the Val di Mazara and made a number of unsuccessful sorties against Castrogiovanni (Enna) and other Byzantine strongholds. The Aghlabid rulers of Ifrīqiyyah attempted to establish their control by appointing members of the ruling dynasty as amirs (governors). None of the family seems to have participated in the original invasion and their attempt to take over power aroused opposition which sometimes erupted in violence. Much of the hostility between *jund* and dynasty which characterised the politics of Ifrīqiyyah seems to have been transmitted to Sicily. In 832 Ziyādat Allāh appointed his cousin Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh who remained governor until he was killed in a mutiny in 835. Ziyadatallāh sent al-Faḍl b. Yaʿqūb as a stop gap replacement, and in the few months he was in charge al-Faḍl led two expeditions against the Sicilian Christians. Although his power was short lived, al-Faḍl was the founder of a family which was to provide leaders of the Muslims of Sicily for the next three-quarters of a century. During most of this period, the internal politics of the Muslims of Sicily were dominated by the struggle between the Aghlabids of Qayrawān and the family of al-Faḍl b. Yaʿqūb and their Sicilian Muslim supporters to control the office of amir. This time, however, Ziyādat Allāh soon replaced al-Faḍl with the dead amir's brother Ibrāhīm who remained immovably in post in Palermo until his death sixteen years later in 851.

From 841 onwards the Muslims began to make further conquests in the Val di Noto and raided increasingly close to Syracuse and Catania. This phase culminated in the conquest of the powerful fortress at Castrogiovanni in January 859. After 842 the Muslims enjoyed the benefits of their alliance, begun in 837, with Naples which enabled them to conquer some of the northern coastal towns, including Messina. This left only the east coast and the Val Demone in Byzantine hands and even here the Muslims were able to raid the countryside almost at will. When Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh died in 851, the Muslims of Sicily chose as his successor a soldier who had frequently led them on campaign, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. Yaʿqūb. This choice was then accepted by the Aghlabid Amir Muḥammad (841–56). The choice of a governor by the Muslim inhabitants of a province was rare in the Islamic world, although no doubt local opinion was sometimes taken into account. It is likely that the remote and precarious nature of these Muslim settlements encouraged the locals to take matters into their own hands. Al-ʿAbbās extended his power by constant campaigns and by appointing both his brother ʿAlī and his uncle al-Rabāḥ b. Yaʿqūb to military commands.

The fall of Castrogiovanni was by no means the end of Byzantine resistance. In response to the fall of the city, the Emperor Michael III (842–67) sent a fleet of 300 ships to encourage resistance. Although they were defeated by the Muslims, the period from 859 onwards saw bitter fighting in the east of the island. Final Muslim victory was also postponed by almost continuous conflict within the Muslim camp between the Aghlabids and local leaders from the family of al-Faql b. Yaʿqūb. In 878 Syracuse finally fell to the Muslims, half a century after they had first attacked it. Alone of all the military campaigns of the time, we have a contemporary description of this from the surviving letter of the monk Theodosius,⁴ written while he was a captive in Palermo. He makes it clear that this was a very hard-fought siege, that the Arabs were skilful in the use of siege engines and that the defenders endured terrible hardships and maintained a stout defence.

Despite this success, civil strife among the Muslims continued. Aghlabid governors were constantly opposed by the *jund* and other Sicilian Muslims who were quite prepared to make alliances with local Christian leaders; local autonomy was a more pressing preoccupation than Holy War. In these circumstances little progress was made in the conquests and it was not until 902 that Taormina and the rest of the Val Demone were taken. In that year the Aghlabid Amir Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (875–902) resigned and, leaving his throne to his son, decided to devote himself to the Holy War. He thereupon succeeded in destroying the city and the last vestiges of Christian rule in the island.

The conquest took more than three-quarters of a century. During that time most of western Sicily was comparatively peaceful under Muslim rule. We must assume that some rudimentary administration was set up: certainly coins were minted and we hear of a *qāḍī*; a mosque is said to have been built in Castrogiovanni and we must suppose that there was one in Palermo. Our sources, however, give us very little indication of the extent of Muslim settlement or the development of governmental and fiscal structures and it would be rash to project later developments back to the ninth century. It is more likely that the Muslims remained a permanent raiding band based in Palermo, living off booty as much as from the collection of taxes or the cultivation of fields. Only in the next century did this predatory society begin to change and the beginnings of state organisation emerge.

The main arena for Arab raids was mainland southern Italy. Here the incessant rivalries between the Byzantine authorities in Apulia and Calabria, Lombard princes in Benevento and cities such as Naples meant that there were many opportunities for raiding. As in Sicily and Spain, the first Muslim

⁴ See Lavagnini (1959–60), pp. 267–79.

intervention is said to have occurred when they acted as allies of one party in inter-Christian disputes. In this case they assisted Naples in 837 to preserve its independence from the advancing Lombard Prince Sicard of Benevento. Neither the Byzantines nor the Venetians could match them at sea. In 840 the Muslims established a permanent presence for the first time at Taranto and the next year they took Bari and Brindisi as allies of one Lombard prince against another, building up their power in a way curiously similar to that used by the Normans two centuries later.

Thereafter emphasis shifted from the Adriatic to the more accessible west coast. The most spectacular result of this was the attack on Rome in 846 when the Vatican was pillaged, though the city itself was saved. Both east and west coasts were subject to continuing attack and only the repeated efforts of the Emperor Louis II (d. 875), sometimes in alliance with the Byzantines, prevented the Muslims from occupying the whole of southern Italy. His efforts were partially successful when he reconquered Bari in 871 with naval support from the Byzantines. From the 870s the Byzantines began to dominate Apulia, the Adriatic was secured and the Muslims were eventually defeated at sea at Milazzo and driven out of Taranto in 880. The Byzantines meanwhile moved on to take most of Calabria over the next decade. On the west coast, however, the Muslims established a permanent raiding camp on the Garigliano river in the late 870s which they continued to use as a base until they were finally expelled in 915. Ironically the year of victory at Taormina in 902 also saw their final defeat in mainland Italy. From the end of the ninth century until the mid-eleventh Calabria and Apulia were under Byzantine hegemony and Sicily was under Muslim rule. The Muslims did occupy some Italian towns for considerable periods – Bari from 841 to 871 and Taranto from 840 to 880 – but they founded no sort of state. Like the early conquerors of Sicily and Spain, they sought to live off booty and when this dried up or became too dangerous, their raids ceased. It is not clear how closely they were connected with the Muslims of Sicily and it is likely that many of those who invaded the Adriatic coast were from Crete and other areas of the eastern Mediterranean. One Mufarraj b. Sallām, of unknown origin, proclaimed his independence at Bari. The west-coast Arabs were probably Sicilian. In 871 the Aghlabids seem to have tried to seize the initiative by appointing ‘Abd Allāh b. Ya‘qūb of the well-known Sicilian military family as governor of southern Italy. He was sent to Taranto but died soon after his arrival and there is no evidence that he was replaced. Despite the impermanence of their presence, there can be no doubt that the half-century of their raids had a major effect on the society of central and southern Italy, destroying Carolingian patterns and the wealth and independence of the papacy and forcing people to retreat to mountain

strongholds: *incastallamento* (the concentration of the population in fortified hill-top sites) had begun.

THE MUSLIM WEST: THE CONQUEST AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AL-ANDALUS (711–912)

The earliest phases of Arabic historical literature from Muslim Spain, known as al-Andalus in the Arabic sources, are represented by *akhbār*, or individual anecdotes. These often seem to have been preserved orally to keep fresh the memory of great men and deeds. These *akhbār* offer detailed circumstantial accounts of particular instances but the collections usually lack any overall chronological or thematic structure. *Akbār* literature is most clearly represented by two surviving texts. The anonymous early eleventh-century *Akbār al-Majmūʿah* (Collected Anecdotes)⁵ is arranged roughly chronologically with the latest, rather thin, material dating from the early tenth century. The second *akhbār* text is the *Taʾrīkh Ifṭitāḥ al-Andalus* (History of the Conquest of Spain)⁶ which again takes the story down to the early tenth century. This vivid and gossipy collection is attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah (839–926). Originally from Seville he claimed descent from the Visigothic royal family (his name means ‘son of the Gothic woman’) but the work was compiled at the court of the Amir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–61) in Córdoba. Again there is a roughly chronological framework and Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah is especially interesting on the politics of the court under the early Umayyad amirs.

The arranging of this material more strictly into chronological order as *Taʾrīkh* or history was the achievement of the Rāzī family, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 955) and his son ‘Isa (d. 989) from Iran via North Africa. They brought with them an understanding of the historical techniques developed in the east by such writers as al-Madaʿini (d. 839). Their work does not survive in its original form but it is the basis for the surviving portions of the great history of Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076); all later compilers like Ibn Idhārī (fl. c. 1300) and al-Makkari (d. 1632) were ultimately dependent on it.

The reliability of this material is variable. There can be little doubt that the basic chronology developed by the Rāzīs was more or less correct. On the other hand some at least of the *akhbār* have been shown to be eastern Islamic stories attached to figures in Andalusī history. The material is not ‘biased’ in a pro-Muslim anti-Christian sense except that the unbelievers are treated to conventional curses and Muslim victories stressed; in general it is

⁵ Anonymous (1867).

⁶ Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah (1926).

not concerned with Muslim-Christian relations. The writings do, however, suffer from the fact that they represent a limited, Córdoba viewpoint of a restricted social group. Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah and Aḥmad al-Rāzī were both members of the court circle in the early days of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and they reflected the opinions and interests of the Umayyad house and the courtiers. Even when dealing with much earlier history, they tend to concentrate on the doings of the amirs and ancestors of their friends and colleagues.⁷ With the exception of the historical geography of Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-ʿUdhri (d. 1085) of Almería,⁸ which deals with the Levante and the Ebro valley in some detail, no source gives a non-Córdoba perspective. This is especially misleading when trying to assess the effectiveness of the Umayyad amirs who are always treated as if they held sway over all of al-Andalus when in fact their power was confined to the capital and the south. Despite these limitations, however, the Arabic sources for the early history of al-Andalus are relatively full and reliable.

The Muslim conquest of the Iberian peninsula from 711 to 716 was a logical extension of the conquest of North Africa. Muslim troops had reached Tangier in 703 and it was natural that their leaders should look beyond the narrow straits of Gibraltar to the richer and more fertile lands of southern Spain. The conquest of North Africa had been a rolling process: as the Muslim armies moved west, they recruited Berbers to swell their numbers and these new converts were anxious to enjoy the material, as well as the spiritual, advantages of belonging to a conquering army. A continuous supply of booty was required to satisfy the troops and prevent its disintegration into warring factions.

The Iberian peninsula had been ruled from Toledo by Visigothic kings. In the early eighth century there was a succession crisis, as was all too common in Visigothic politics. When Witiza died in 710, Roderick, a member of the nobility, was elected to succeed him. His accession aroused widespread opposition. Arabic sources suggest that some important members of the nobility, including the sons of Witiza, actively encouraged the Muslims to invade, intending, no doubt, that the Muslims should defeat the new monarch and then return, or be sent back, across the straits. Thus in 711 Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, a Berber chief who had been made governor of Tangier, led the first Muslim invasion. The numbers involved are very difficult to estimate but Ṭāriq's army was probably no more than 7000, of whom the largest part were Berbers. They crossed the straits at Gibraltar and moved north, presumably heading for Seville. Roderick had been leading the Visigothic army against the Basques in the north of the country but, hearing

⁷ See Manzano Moreno (1991), pp. 11–218.

⁸ Ed. Al-Ahwani, (1965).

of the invasion, he hurried south to face it. Towards the end of July 711, a battle was fought in the extreme south of Spain near Medina Sidonia. Roderick's army was decisively defeated, the king himself being killed in the battle or shortly after. Ṭāriq followed up his victory with rapid conquests; Córdoba was taken after some resistance but his men encountered little opposition elsewhere in the south. He then pushed on to Toledo, which he found largely deserted. He was able to spend the winter of 711-12 in the old capital.

Ṭāriq's superior, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, governor of Qayrawān, set out the next year with an army of perhaps 18,000, including a large number of Arabs, to ensure that he and his men received a share of the profits of conquest. He did not join Ṭāriq immediately but went first to Seville and then to Mérida, which fell after a brief siege in July 713. Only then did the two leaders meet and in spring 714 they launched an extensive campaign in the north, taking Zaragoza and the upper Ebro, León and Astorga. If they had hopes of permanent power in the land they had conquered, these were shattered when in September 714 they were both summoned by the Caliph al-Walīd (705-15) to Damascus and left, never to return.

Mūsā left his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in charge. He continued the conquests. In his period of office (714-16), Santarem and Coimbra in the west, Pamplona in the north, Barcelona, Girona and Narbonne in the northeast all fell to Muslim commanders. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself led an expedition to the Murcia area where he concluded an agreement with the local Visigothic commander, Theodemir, which allowed the Christians to retain their possessions and their religion in exchange for a modest tribute. By 716 virtually all the peninsula had been conquered by, or at least received an unopposed visit from, the Muslim troops. Leading men of the Visigothic state actively and rapidly sought incorporation into the new elite. The sons of Witiza retained a vast amount of their personal wealth and are found advising the Muslim governors. According to later tradition, the Banū Qāsī of the upper Ebro valley sprang from one Fortun, a Visigothic noble who embraced Islam in 714 when the Muslim armies first appeared. Only in the Asturias, where Pelayo led an embryo resistance movement, among the Basques who had never really accepted Visigothic control, and in the isolated valleys on the southern flanks of the Pyrenees, was there real opposition.

Muslim settlement was widely dispersed throughout the peninsula with the exception of the northern mountains. In general the centres of Arab settlement were the fertile river valleys of the Guadalquivir and the Ebro and cities like Córdoba, Seville and Zaragoza. Most of the Arabs who settled in Spain at this time came originally not from Bedouin backgrounds but

from the Yemen where their ancestors had always been farmers; they seem to have adapted easily to the agricultural life. The Berbers, many of whom were pastoralists and who may have crossed the straits with their flocks, occupied the southern uplands and the central plateau of the Meseta (later, of course, the centre of the great Castilian sheep-rearing economy). No attempt seems to have been made to establish garrison cities like Kūfah and Basra in Iraq or Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt and the settlers mingled with the local people without arousing great opposition. The settlement was largely unplanned. That the settlers lived so close to the land from which they made their living may have contributed to the fact that, in contrast to the Muslim east, no elaborate bureaucratic structure emerged to collect taxes from the conquered people and redistribute them as salaries.

The period from 714 to 741 saw a succession of governors ruling al-Andalus from Córdoba, which became the capital from early on. They were usually appointed by the governor of Qayrawān or by his superior, the governor of Egypt; with few exceptions, they did not have local roots and their spell of office was too short for them to build up any local power base. Links with the Umayyad government in Damascus must always have been tenuous and it is not clear that any revenue was exported from the new province to the capital after the first wave of conquests. Conquest and expansion remained very important. The governors led frequent raids, not on the hard and poverty-stricken mountains of northern Spain but into southern France. Their route was either up the Rhône valley reaching as far as Langres and Sens in 725, or through Pamplona and Bordeaux. This last was the route taken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī in 732 when he led the ill-fated expedition defeated by Charles Martel at the battle of Poitiers.⁹ Thereafter, large-scale raids were suspended.

Conquest and booty had been a major, possibly the major, source of revenue for the government and an outlet for the energies of ambitious or dissatisfied Muslims. When the chance of easy pickings dried up, competition for resources within al-Andalus and North Africa intensified and gave rise to open civil war. The most dangerous of these was the great Berber rebellion of 741 which spread throughout North Africa and Spain. The Caliph Hishām sent a large army, mostly recruited in Syria and al-Jazīrah to deal with it. They were defeated and a large body of them, perhaps 10,000, led by Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī, was cut off by the Berbers in the western Maghreb. Meanwhile the Arabs of al-Andalus were also faced by a Muslim uprising in the central plateau which they were unable to put down.

⁹ See Collins (1989), pp. 90–1 for further discussion of the date.

Desperate for help, they invited Balj's ragged and starving army across the straits to help them.

With these reinforcements, the Berbers were soon defeated but the problems for the Arab settlers were only beginning. Seeing the prosperity of the country and the wealth of the Arabs established there, the newly arrived Syrians, despite their original agreement, refused to leave; civil war developed again. For the next fifteen years there were continuous struggles between the original settlers (the *Baladiyūn*) and the Syrians (*Shāmiyūn*) and their Berber allies for control of the governorate. Soon after they had arrived, in an effort at compromise, the Syrians had been systematically settled in Andalusia. Each of the *ajnād* (sing: *jund*; essentially regiments recruited from the same district of Syria) were settled in different areas from Elvira (Granada) in the east to Sidonia in the west. In exchange for land they were obliged to perform military service when the amir requested. The establishment of these *ajnād* gave an important impetus to the Arabisation of southern Spain.

In the short term, civil strife remained acute and it was exacerbated by the hostility between the Qays-Mudar and Yemen parties. This conflict originated in Syria and Iraq where it had polarised the Arab tribes. By the time it reached Spain, its origins were as obscure and irrelevant as those of the Welf-Ghibelline dispute in late medieval Italy. The early Arab settlers mostly came from the Yemeni tribal bloc, from both Yemen and Syria, and there was no friction between them and the comparatively small number of Qaysis. Most of the Syrians, by contrast, came from the Qays group and brought with them memories of the bitter disputes then raging in their homelands. Both sides attempted to use tribal solidarity to win recruits in the other party. This led to confusions of alliance and rapidly shifting balances of power, compounded by events in the east where, between 747 and 750, the Umayyad caliphate was overthrown by the 'Abbasids. There was now no outside authority to appoint governors. Nevertheless, it had become clear that control of Córdoba and the title of amir were the major prizes and the only possible means of political control. Secondly, no group was powerful enough to seize and retain this power on a stable basis.

It was into this scorpions' nest that the emissaries of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah the Umayyad first arrived. By 756 the governor in Córdoba was Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri, a direct descendant of the famous 'Uqbah b. Nāfi', hero of the Muslim conquest of North Africa. He was, despite his illustrious ancestor, aged and ineffective and the real power behind him was al-Ṣumayl b. Hātim al-Kilābi, a Syrian Qaysi of modest origins but of great determination and ruthlessness. Predictably there was widespread

opposition from early settlers and Yemenis. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah was the grandson of the last great Umayyad Caliph Hishām (724–43). He had escaped the massacre of most of his family by the 'Abbasids, and by a series of hair-breadth escapes, graphically recounted in the Arab sources,¹⁰ had made his way to North Africa where he took refuge with his mother's Berber relations. From this sanctuary he sent his trusted envoy Badr to al-Andalus to see if there were any political opportunities. Receiving favourable reports he arrived in person at Almuñecar on the south coast in August 755. From there he began to tour the southern uplands, recruiting supporters, mostly among the Yemenis and the Berbers, until he was strong enough to challenge the governor. In May 756 his forces defeated Yūsuf and al-Ṣumayl just outside Córdoba; he took the city and the palace and was proclaimed amir. His descendants were to rule there until 1031.

The fugitive scion of a dispossessed dynasty, 'Abd al-Raḥmān had few obvious advantages. He was only twenty-six years old, had no experience of government and no significant financial resources, and neither he nor any member of his family had ever visited al-Andalus before. Apart from his own ability and longevity, however, 'Abd al-Raḥmān did have a number of crucial political assets. His ancestors had been caliphs of the entire Muslim world; he himself came from the prestigious Prophet's tribe of Quraysh, and Qurashis were felt to be above and somewhat separate from the Qays/Yemen dispute, able to attract support from both sides. There was also the Syrian connection: the Umayyads had ruled the Islamic world from Syria with Syrian support and a large number of the Arabs in al-Andalus boasted Syrian origins. Many of these people had a tradition of loyalty to the Umayyad house and would have vigorously rejected the claims of the rival 'Abbasid dynasty. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, therefore, was the only leader who could appeal across and above tribal loyalties to a wide cross-section of Arab society in Spain.

Perhaps the most important asset he had, however, was a group of Umayyad *mawālī* on whose absolute loyalty he could count. The *mawālī* (sing. *mawlā*) were clients of Arab families. When members of conquered populations, whether Syrian, Aramaean, Greek, Persian or Berber, wished to convert to Islam and share the privileges of the ruling group, they attached themselves to an individual or family who became, so to speak, their godfather. Many of these were ex-prisoners of war or ex-slaves and, while they were now freemen, they had no tribal connections and owed their loyalty to their sponsors. Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, governor of Tangier and first

¹⁰ Anonymous (1867), pp. 46–56.

Muslim invader of Spain, and probably an important Berber chief in his own right, was one such *mawlā*. No family had more *mawālī* than the ruling Umayyads and many of them came from Syria with the Syrian troops of Balj or fled there after the 'Abbasid revolution. They had little status or power in the tribal elites which fought for control in pre-Umayyad al-Andalus and were happy to offer their support to 'Abd al-Raḥmān's messenger, himself a *mawlā*. After 'Abd al-Raḥmān took power, more Umayyad *mawālī* continued to arrive from the east. Thus, alone of all the contenders for power, 'Abd al-Raḥmān could count on the devotion of a coherent group of supporters whose loyalty extended beyond the bounds of tribal solidarity. These *mawālī* and their descendants, families like the Banū Shuhayd and the Banū Abī 'Abda, were the backbone of the Umayyad state and provided generals and bureaucrats for the Umayyads for the next three centuries, as well as both authors and patrons for the golden age of Andalusi literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah ruled as amir from 756 to 788. We have little beyond brief annals of his reign but it is clear that he faced a number of rivals for power, such as the Fihri's, finally defeated in 785, and the 'Abbasids. Soon after his accession, 'Abd al-Raḥmān dropped the name of the 'Abbasid caliph from the *khutbah* (the sermon in the mosque on Friday) and the last formal ties with the eastern caliphate were broken. The determined 'Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–75) tried to foment an insurrection in al-Andalus by subsidising an Arab chief from Beja, al-'Ala b. Mughīth al-Yaḥsubī, to raise a revolt in 763. The 'Abbasids sent money and moral support but no troops and the attempt was defeated. The 'Abbasids could not count on any significant body of support in al-Andalus, and after this setback they confined themselves to sending abusive letters.

By his death in October 788, 'Abd al-Raḥmān had firmly established his status as amir and his control over much of Córdoba and the south. He had built a palace near the city and begun the first stage of the great mosque, parts of which can still be seen today. He had established a rudimentary administration which differed somewhat from eastern models: rather than the *wazīr* (vizier) being the main official, this role was filled in al-Andalus by the *hājib* (chamberlain) who was both a civil and military commander, assisted by about half a dozen *wazīrs*. As far as we can tell, almost all his *wazīrs* and military commanders were members of the Umayyad family or *mawālī*: Arab chiefs were almost entirely excluded from positions of power.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was far from being an absolute ruler of al-Andalus. The amir's authority did not extend to Mérida, Toledo or Zaragoza and the Ebro valley, where occasional punitive raids were the only sign of Umayyad

authority. The Berber tribes of the Meseta were kept in check in the same way. He also had to contend with Christian pressures on the frontier (see below).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died without naming a successor. The Umayyad family had a strong hereditary tradition and there could be no doubt that one of his sons should succeed him, but in a political culture which did not believe in primogeniture, it was difficult to know which one it was to be. The dispute soon developed into open warfare between the eldest son Sulaymān and his younger brother Hishām. Sulaymān seems to have appealed to the Berber and Arab tribal constituencies who had supported the Fihrīs. Hishām had the backing of the *mawālī* and probably the other members of the Umayyad family. Sulaymān was defeated near Jaen and retreated to Toledo whence he was forced to leave for North Africa, albeit with a large pension.

The chronicle tradition¹¹ gives the next two amirs, Hishām I (788–96) and al-Ḥakam I (796–822) distinctive characters, Hishām modest and pious, al-Ḥakam, choleric and violent, fond of poetry and wine. The evidence for their reigns amounts to little more than brief annals interspersed with anecdotes more picturesque than reliable. It does seem, however, that Hishām's reign saw the arrival in al-Andalus of the Mālikī school of Islamic law. Mālik b. Anas himself died in Madīnah in 795 and his writings bequeathed to the Islamic world a system of law based on the practice of Madīnah, clear and concise but somewhat rigid and restricting. As a result there was little academic debate of legal issues but it did mean that al-Andalus was spared the often violent disputes which disturbed the eastern Islamic world in the ninth and tenth centuries. It also gave great status and prestige to the *qādīs* who interpreted and taught the law. Almost all *qādīs* claimed Arab descent, were practically an hereditary profession, and were recruited from different groups than were the bureaucrats or military men. Throughout the Umayyad period, the Amīrs seem to have retained the right to appoint *qādīs* in the whole of al-Andalus, even in towns like Zaragoza and Toledo where amirs seldom enjoyed any other political powers. Many of these *qādīs* were educated in Córdoba. This system may well have encouraged a sense of religious and cultural unity which would otherwise have been lacking.

Before he died in 796, Hishām was careful to designate his son al-Ḥakam as his heir. Nevertheless al-Ḥakam's rights were challenged by his uncle Sulaymān, who was not finally captured and executed until 800. Sulaymān's younger brother ʿAbd Allāh went to Aachen with the intention of seeking Carolingian support against his nephew but returned empty handed. In the

¹¹ Ibn Idhari (1948–51) II, pp. 65–6, 78–80.

end ʿAbd Allāh established himself in the Valencia region where he was given what amounted to an independent appanage. His arrival here inaugurated a new wave of Muslim naval activity in the western Mediterranean. In 798 ʿAbd Allāh's Berber followers launched a major raid on the Balearic Islands and this was followed by a series of raids between 805 and 813 on Corsica and Sardinia. Carolingian sources also mention attacks on Nice and Civitavecchia. The marked lull after 813 coincides with the appearance of the Andalusian pirates who took over Alexandria in 815-16.

Al-Ḥakam's reign was marked by two major insurrections in Córdoba itself. These revolts were supported both by members of the elite and by ordinary Muslims. The underlying motive was, apparently, resentment at al-Ḥakam's employment of professional soldiers. Rather than rely on the *ajnad*, he built up a guard of slave-soldiers, *ʿabid*, commanded by a Christian officer, al-Rabīʿ. It is likely that, instead of being asked to do military service, the members of the *ajnad* were required to pay taxes to support this new army. No doubt al-Ḥakam saw this development as an essential stage in the construction of a stable regime but inevitably it aroused fear and hostility among many Arabs who felt that they were being excluded from power and saw the amir's actions as heavy handed and dictatorial.

The first outbreak came in 805 and in 818 there was a mass uprising in Secunda, the suburb of Córdoba which lay to the south of the river. The rebels attempted to cross and take the town but were defeated by loyal troops led by the *ḥājib*, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīth and members of the Umayyad family. The amir's vengeance was terrible. He ordered mass executions, and that the suburb be razed to the ground and any surviving inhabitants sent into exile.

After this there was no more open opposition to the Umayyads in the city. Indeed, the loyalty of Córdoba to the dynasty was a striking feature of the Umayyad state right down to the abolition of the caliphate in 1031. The amir, moreover, now had the power to push ahead with building a standing army and a bureaucratic apparatus, not to speak of a large and luxurious court, without effective opposition from the Muslim Arab leaders, many of whose families had been in al-Andalus much longer than the Umayyads. Many of the exiles went to Morocco where they settled near the newly established colony of people from Qayrawān (Qarawiyyīn) at Fes. Here, on the opposite side of the river, they established their own quarter of the Andalusīyīn. Some went further afield and sailed to the east, where they occupied first Alexandria, and then Crete which they won from the Byzantines in 826. Crete remained a Muslim possession until 961.

The development of an apparatus of government begun under al-Ḥakam was extended by his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (822-52). His accession was

itself an indication of the enhanced status of the amirate. During his father's last illness, the leading members of the court swore the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) to him. When al-Ḥakam died, 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent his brother al-Mughīrah to receive in public in the mosque in Córdoba the oaths of the leading Cordobans. This formal installation ceremony was based on the one used by 'Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad. It is evidence both of the aspirations of the new amir and of his reliance on eastern models.

The new amir began to recruit supporters from many quarters. The old *mawālī* families continued to be important, 'Isā b. Shuhayd, for example, was made a *waṣīr* and then *ḥājib*, but there were new sources of recruits as well. 'Abd al-Raḥmān rejected his father's policy of employing Christian guards. Two of his first acts were to execute al-Rabī', head of the guard, and to close down the wine market in Córdoba. Instead of turning to local Arabs to replace the Christian guards, 'Abd al-Raḥman engaged two Berber princes from the ruling dynasty of Tahert in North Africa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad b. Rustam, as military commanders presumably with their followers. Towards the end of the reign, 'Abd al-Raḥmān increasingly relied on Naṣr, a eunuch of unknown origin; the growing importance of eunuchs was another sign of the increasing eastern Islamic influence at the Umayyad court. Both Berber princes and eunuchs, often of northern European origin, had the advantages of being without local contacts and were completely reliant on the ruler.

The recruitment of this new military, not to speak of an increasingly elaborate and luxurious court, complete with *ḥarīm* and poets recruited from the Islamic east, necessitated a fiscal system to support it. We have virtually no information about taxation from the time of the early amirs and it seems likely that, with the Muslims dispersed and living off the land, only the most rudimentary fiscal structures were required. Poll-tax (*jizyah*) paid by Christians and Jews probably formed an important part of the amir's income. From the time of al-Ḥakam we have details of a more developed system. It appears that a major source of income was payment, presumably by the *jund*, to be excused military service, a sort of scutage, as well as general, unspecified taxes and dues for the right to fly falcons; none of these taxes has parallels in eastern Islamic fiscal practice. There is mention of substantial quantities of goods in kind, wheat and barley, but the bulk of the income was raised in, or at least accounted in, gold *dīnārs*. In one recorded assessment, Córdoba provided 142,000, Seville 35,000. Sidonia, 50,600, Moron, 21,000 and Niebla in the far west, 15,600 *dīnārs*. Córdoba and its district thus provided more than all the other areas put together and only the southern areas where the Syrian *ajnād* were settled made contributions. It may be that the fragmentary record leaves out important areas but it is more

likely that this reflects the heavy reliance of the Umayyads on the Guadalquivir valley and areas to the west and south for their income. The gross income of the amirate is said to have increased from 600,000 *dīnārs* under al-Ḥakām to 1,000,000 under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. It was the latter who appointed treasurers (*khuzḍān*) as specifically financial officials.

With new military and fiscal resources to support him, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II made a determined effort to assert Umayyad rule over the whole of Muslim Spain. While the authority of Córdoba may have been more or less effective in the south, it did not extend to the three areas known as the Marches (*thughūr*), namely the Lower March in the west based on Mérida, the Middle March based on Toledo in the centre and the Upper March based on Zaragoza and the Ebro valley in the north and northeast. Each of these had different characteristics.

Apart from the old Roman centre at Mérida itself, the Lower March was largely pastoral country, with villages and castles few and far between. Not many Arabs had settled in these harsh, wide-open landscapes, and the Muslim population were largely Berbers or *muwallads*, that is, native Spanish converts. The Berbers lived a pastoral life and tribal structures and tribal leaders remained powerful among them throughout the early middle ages. The *muwallads*, on the other hand, were probably the inhabitants of the villages and river valley settlements. It was very difficult country to control and the early amirs could do little more than make alliances with the most powerful chiefs in the area. Only after 828 did ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II assert the power of Córdoba by sending a governor and a garrison to Mérida and building a citadel, dated by inscription to 835,¹² whose walls still survive above the Guadiana river. Despite this show of strength, it is doubtful that Umayyad authority extended much beyond the city itself.

The situation in the Middle March was very similar. Toledo itself, more than any other city in al-Andalus, was dominated by *muwallads* who formed the elite of the city and frequently asserted their independence. To the east and south lay the upland plains of the central Meseta rising in the east to the desolate slopes of the Montes Universales and the Sierra de Cuenca. These were Berber lands where direct rule from Córdoba was virtually impossible and where a fragile peace depended on diplomacy and punitive raids. Toledo itself had a vigorous tradition of political independence but the sources are too fragmentary for us to know how the government of the city was organised. There is some indication that al-Ḥakām attempted to use a *muwallad* ally of his, ʿAmrūs b. Yūsuf, to govern the city. It was not until the 830s that real control was established and then only as a response to the

¹² Lévi-Provençal (1932), nos. 39, 40, pp. 50–1; Creswell (1940), pp. 197–205.

aggression of the Toledans. In 836–7 the city was finally occupied by Umayyad troops and, as at Mérida, a governor was installed and a citadel was constructed on the site of the present, much rebuilt, Alcázar.

Although the Murcia area was not technically part of the Marches, it too was outside the scope of Umayyad power. The agreement with Theodemir seems to have broken down by the early ninth century, if not before, and many Arabs settled in the district. At the beginning of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s reign, this was the scene of the last major outbreak of Qays–Yemen conflict in al-Andalus. Typically, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān combined diplomacy with force to bring this bloody civil war to an end in 828–9. After the Umayyad forces were victorious, the dominant Yemeni leader, Abū’l-Shammākh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was given a military command in the amir’s forces (one of the few Arabs to be so honoured). Further, a new fortress and administrative centre was founded in 831 at Murcia; it became the seat of government and the most important city in the area.

The history of the Upper March in the Ebro valley is complex. The city of Zaragoza itself was dominated by Arabs, mostly of Yemeni origin, but the other cities and much of the country were ruled by powerful *muwallad* families, the Banū Qāsī of Tudela and the upper Ebro area and ‘Amrūs b. Yūsuf and his family in Huesca. Al-Ḥakam had used his alliance with ‘Amrūs to try to exert some influence in the region but after his death in 812 the Banū Qāsī under Mūsā b. Mūsā became the dominant force. Not only were they powerful in their own lands around Tudela but they also had close relations with the Basque kings of Pamplona into whose family they had married. In addition, it is possible that they recruited Basque soldiers for their forces. Mūsā b. Mūsā generally remained on good terms with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II and in 844 Mūsā gave ‘Abd al-Raḥmān valuable military support against the Vikings who had attacked Seville. Nevertheless he continued to act as an independent power and called himself the ‘third king of Spain’.¹³ The city of Zaragoza itself was conquered by the amir in 844 and entrusted to his son Muḥammad. By the end of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s reign, Murcia, Zaragoza, Toledo and Mérida all had Umayyad governors, usually members of *mawālī* families and garrisons. Events after ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s death in 852 were to show how precarious this assertion of central control was.

Beyond the Marches lay the Christian lands (below, pp. 272–89). The frontier fell into two distinct sectors, west and east. In the west, roughly from the headwaters of the Duero to the Atlantic, the Muslims had briefly occupied outposts as far north as Galicia and Oviedo. The occupation must have been very transitory and the Berber revolt in 741 (most of the Muslims

¹³ *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, cap. 25.

in this area were Berbers) and the famines of the 750s, when many Berbers returned to North Africa, led to the abandonment of this area. From this point the northern boundary of Muslim settlement was marked by the Cordillera Central, and Coimbra, Coria, Talavera, Toledo and Madinaceli were the frontier towns. North of the mountains lay the plains of the Duero, a vast no-man's land with little if any permanent settlement, which only ended at the southern Christian outposts like León and Astorga. The western sector of the frontier region changed little between 750 and 912, the only difference being the slow advance of Christian settlement into the no-man's land.

The frontier in the Ebro valley was a very different matter. Here there were no empty spaces and Christians and Muslims fought to control the towns and fertile plains. The rise of Carolingian power led to a gradual but sustained Christian advance, aided by the willingness of dissident Muslims in the provinces to appeal for Christian help against their Muslim neighbours. In 798 Pamplona fell and the nucleus of the Basque Kingdom of Navarre was established. Girona was taken in 785 and Barcelona in 801; both were later incorporated into the Spanish March of the Carolingian empire. The plains of the Ebro valley remained in Muslim hands and attempts to take Zaragoza (by Charlemagne in 778) and Tortosa (by Louis the Pious between 804 and 809) were unsuccessful.

The Muslims regularly took the offensive against the Christians in raids known as *ṣawā'if* (sing. *ṣā'ifah*). They were directed at all points of the Christian-held lands. Galicia, the Asturias and Pamplona were regularly attacked, but the lands of the Alava and Old Castile were the most common objectives. These raids do not seem to have been an attempt to conquer Christian territory. When the Muslims did capture a city, such as León in 846, they simply made breaches in the walls and abandoned it. It is a significant contrast with Christian advances; when the Christians took a town like Girona or Barcelona they installed a garrison and fortified it and the Muslims never regained it. León, in contrast, was resettled by the Christians as soon as the Muslim armies were out of sight.

The purpose of these raids was to assert the power and status of the amir and his family by demonstrating that they were leaders of the Muslims against the infidel. They had the added advantages of bringing in booty, though this was unlikely to have been vast, and enabling the amir to make contact with magnates of the outlying parts of al-Andalus. Yet the raids never threatened the existence of the Christian states.

The Christian community in Al-Andalus was not, so far as we can tell, actively persecuted by the Umayyad authorities. Christians had to pay the *jizyah*, there were restrictions on processions and the use of church bells, and

they played a much smaller part in administration than their co-religionists in, say, Fatimid Egypt. Nonetheless, an ecclesiastical hierarchy of sorts seems to have been maintained and some monasteries existed. The bulk of the Christian population began to take on the language and dress of their Muslim masters, being referred to as Mozarabs (from an Arabic word meaning 'one who seeks to become an Arab'). It was possibly in protest against this easy acceptance that a group of Christians, led by the priest Elogius and centred on the small monastery of Tabanos outside Córdoba, began to seek a confrontation with the Muslim state. They did this by publicly insulting the Prophet and encouraging converts to Islam to apostasise: both crimes, as they knew well, were punishable by death under Islamic law. After all attempts to make them recant had failed, thirteen were executed before Elogius left for the Christian north. In 853 he returned and the martyrdoms resumed and there were fourteen more executions until in 859 Elogius himself, now bishop of Córdoba, was executed and the movement came to an end. Attempts to portray this as a proto-nationalist movement have not been convincing. It seems more probable that this self-sacrifice was a product of the intense devotion and cult of martyrdom in the small group which gathered round the charismatic figure of Elogius.¹⁴

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II died in 852 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, who seems to have been a capable if unexceptional ruler. He continued at first in the tradition of his father, but power gradually slipped out of his hands. Personal failings aside, the major underlying problem came, ironically, from the very success of Islam. The circumstantial evidence suggests that the second half of the ninth century was a period of very rapid conversion to Islam,¹⁵ with large numbers, rather than a few elite individuals like the Banū Qāṣī of earlier generations, converting. The likelihood is that this happened most rapidly in the areas where Muslim settlement had been densest, that is, in the area of the Guadalquivir valley and the southern mountains. The new converts sought to participate in the political life of the Muslim community they had just joined and they supported leaders like Ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī and Ibn Ḥafṣūn who attempted to secure places in the military elite for themselves and their followers. This in turn aroused the resentment of the older established military elements, the *mawālī*, Arabs and Berbers, who found a leader in Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and led to both Ibn Marwān and Ibn Ḥafṣūn being obliged to leave Córdoba for their homelands whence they defied the government.

This change also undermined the fiscal basis of the government. The *jizyah* (poll-tax) was an important source of revenue and clearly the more

¹⁴ For the best recent discussion see Wolf (1988).

¹⁵ Bulliet (1979), pp. 114–27.

people who converted to Islam and were consequently exempt from the *jizyah*, the less money was collected. The new converts, moreover, now enjoyed a more favourable tax position than members of the *jund* who were obliged to pay the *hashd* as a substitute for military service. It was probably pressure from them which persuaded Muḥammad to abolish their obligation to military service, thus freeing them from this tax burden. In times of famine in 865–8 and 873–4 further fiscal problems arose when the collection of the *ʿushūr* (the tithes all Muslims are required to pay) had to be abandoned.

The Umayyad government in consequence became increasingly weak and impoverished. It was not long before the separatist tendencies, superficially restrained in the final years of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's reign, manifested themselves once more. In Mérida and the Lower March the initiative was taken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān al-Jillīqī, son of the *muwallad* leader who had dominated the area in the early years of the ninth century. He was persuaded to come to Córdoba and given an honoured position at court. In 875, however, he was driven out by the hostility of Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He returned to the Lower March. Here from his newly developed centre at Badajoz ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān al-Jillīqī and his family ruled what was essentially an independent state. The Toledans were actively aggressive and the amir was again obliged to fortify Calatrava to block their access to the south. In 854 the amir won a notable victory over them and their Asturian allies but the city was not really brought back under Umayyad control. The eventual agreement in 873 allowed a large measure of autonomy to the city including the right of the people to choose their own governor. Muḥammad's only effective response was to seek an alliance with the Berber chiefs of the areas east and south of the city who were as hostile to the *muwallad* Toledans as he was. It was in this way that Muḥammad first built up the power of the Banū Zannūn (Arabised to Banū' l-Dhū' l-Nūn) who were to dominate the area in the tenth century and took over Toledo itself in the eleventh. Zaragoza and the Upper March escaped Córdoba control as early as 856 when Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Qāsī asserted his independence again. With one brief interval, the Banū Qāsī asserted their independent control over the city and the Ebro area and were effectively independent monarchs until driven out of the city by the rival Arab Tujībī family in 890. After this, the power of the Banū Qāsī was confined to the Tudela region whence they had sprung and was finally eclipsed in the first decade of the tenth century by the Tujībīs and other local dynasts.

The loss of power in the Marches was a blow to prestige but it did not challenge Umayyad power in the southern heartlands. The rebellion of Ibn Ḥafṣūn was much more dangerous in this respect. Ibn Ḥafṣūn was a

muwallad landowner of some means with estates in the mountains to the east of Ronda, who gradually acquired a considerable following among *muwallads* and Mozarabs alike, and a permanent base at the mountain stronghold of Bobastro. In 883 Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz led a military expedition against Ibn Ḥafṣūn and he agreed to come to Córdoba where he was given a military command and joined the *ṣāʿifah* against Alava. Despite this demonstration of loyalty, Ibn Ḥafṣūn was not accepted by the Cordoban elite. After a quarrel with the governor of the city, he retreated to his mountain fastness and began a revolt which soon spread throughout the southern mountains. Not only was this area now outside Umayyad control but the power of this *muwallad* had the effect of rousing Arab notables, especially in the Elvira (Granada) area, to protect themselves against him by building castles and raising their own war-bands.

By Muḥammad's death in 886 the disintegration of the amirate was far advanced. It was only in the Guadalquivir valley and the area immediately around the city itself that the Umayyad amir had any real power but he lacked the resources to expand it significantly. Elsewhere local political forces had taken over.

Muḥammad was succeeded for two years by his able son al-Mundhir, who, although he made a determined effort to reduce Bobastro and put an end to the power of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, died in mysterious circumstances while on campaign. In 888 he was succeeded by his brother ʿAbd Allāh, whose reign marks the nadir of Cordoban power. The new amir seems to have been indolent, possibly clinically depressed, and capable of taking little initiative apart from occasional bursts of murderous cruelty against members of his family, including his own sons. He seldom left Córdoba, except to go on hunting expeditions in the immediate vicinity, and made little effort to restore the fortunes of the amirate.

In addition, areas which had not hitherto shown signs of separatist tendencies began to go their own way. The province of Elvira (Granada) was torn apart by fierce hostility between Arabs and *muwallads* and the latter, having appealed in vain to the amir for protection, threw in their lot with Ibn Ḥafṣūn. In the city of Seville, probably the largest in al-Andalus after Córdoba itself, there was a vicious feud between Arab patrician families (the Banū Ḥajjāj and the Banū Khaldūn) and those of *muwallad* origin (Banū Angelino and Banū Savarico) which finally left Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥajjāj as ruler of an independent city-state.

ʿAbd Allāh remained as amir until his death in 912. The Umayyad amirate survived less because of his abilities than because of the divisions amongst its enemies, more intent on fighting each other than attacking Córdoba. No rival magnate attempted to take the title of amir or to capture the capital city

and many, like the *muwallads* in both Elvira and Seville, looked to the Umayyads for support against their local rivals. The conflicts were the expression of widespread social and ethnic tensions rather than a determination to end Umayyad rule. The amir was still able to count on the loyalty of the people of Córdoba and despite his poverty he never seems to have increased the taxes on them. He could rely also on the support of the *mawālī* families who had always been the mainstay of the dynasty; both the Banū Shuhayd and the Banū Abī ‘Abda figured prominently in his rudimentary administration. He maintained an army of sorts. In the absence of tax revenues, this army existed mostly by plundering neighbouring areas which had rejected the amir’s authority, setting out at harvest time and returning with supplies or with cash given to them to induce them to go away. It was left to ‘Abd Allāh’s grandson, who became amir as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III on ‘Abd Allāh’s death in 912, to create on this modest foundation what was to be the most powerful state in tenth-century western Europe.

Table 8 RULERS IN THE BALKANS, c. 700 – c. 900

Many of the dates and some of the names are debatable. This list is therefore provisional.

I BULGARS

Teletz c. 760–763
 Sabinos 763
 Umar c. 765
 Paganos c. 765–(?) c. 770
 Telerig c. 770–776
 Kardam 776–c. 802
 Krum c. 802–814
 Omurtag 815–831
 Malamir 831–836
 Presian 836–852
 Boris I 852–889, 893
 Vladimir 889–893
 Symeon 893–927

II CROATS

No certainty before the middle of the ninth century

Trpimir I, c. 845–864
 Zdeslav, 864, 876–879
 Domagoj, 864–876
 ?, son of Domagoj, 876
 Branimir, 879–92
 Mutimir, 892–910

III SERBS

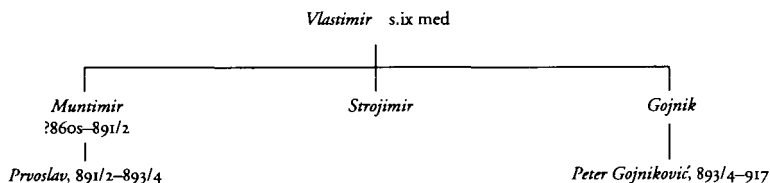


Table 9 RULERS OF SPAIN, c. 700 – c. 900

I VISIGOTHS

Erwig k. 680–687*Egica* k. 687–70; son-in-law of Erwig and Kinsma of Wamba; k. (672–680)*Witiza* k. 701–708/9? *Achila*, son of Witiza; k. 709–10*Roderick*, duke of Baetilia, k. 710–713, last Visigothic King of Spain*Agila II* 710/711–713*Ardo* 713–720

II ARAB GOVERNORS and AMIRS OF CÓRDOBA

Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr

711–713/14

'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Mūsā

713/14–715/16

Ayub ibn Ḥabīb al Lakhmi

6 months, 716–early 717

Al-Horr ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān

ibn 'Uthman al-Thakifi

Jul/Aug 717–April/May 718

Al-Samh ibn Malik al-Khawlani

April/May 718–May 721

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd-Allāh

al-Ghafeki

May–Aug 721

Anbasah ibn Sohaym al-Kalbi

Aug 721–Dec 725/Jan 726

Odhrah ibn 'Abd-Allah

al-Fihri

Jan–Aug (?) 726

Yahya ibn Sallamah al-Kalbi

late 726–Nov/Dec 727

'Uthman ibn Abi Nasah

al-Khathami

Dec 727–June/July 728

Hodjefah ibn al-Ahwan al-

Kaysi

June/July 728–April 729

Al-Haythan ibn Ubeyd

al-Kelabi

April 729–March 731

Muḥammed ibn 'Abd-Allāh

al-Ashjai

March–May 731

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd-Allāh

al-Ghafeki

(again) May 731–Oct 732

'Abd al-Mālik ibn Kattan

al-Fihri

Oct 732–Oct/Nov 734

Ukbah ibn al-Hejaji

al-Saluli

Oct/Nov 734–739

'Abd al-Mālik ibn Kattan

(in revolt) 739–Sept/Oct 741

Balj ibn Bashir

Sept/Oct 741–Sept 742

Tha'labah ibn Sallamah

al-Amali

Sept 742–May 743

Abu al-Khattar Husam ibn

Dhirar al-Khalbi

May 743–April 745

Thuabab ibn Yezid

April 745–746/7

III Umayyad AMIRS OF CÓRDOBA

'Abd al-Rahmān I

756–788

Hishām I

788–796

Al-Hakem I

796–822

'Abd al-Rahmān II

822–852

Mohammed I

852–886

Al-Mundhir

886–888

'Abd-Allāh

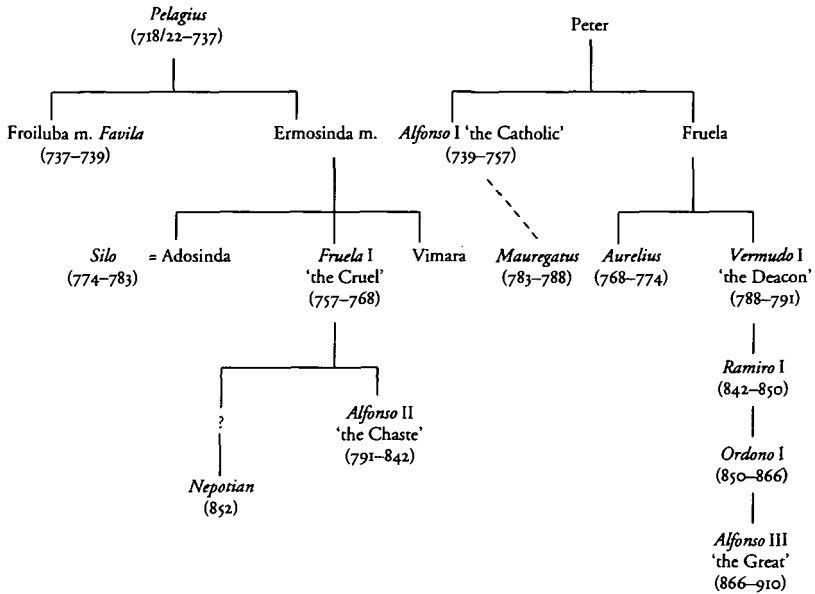
888–912

'Abd al-Rahmān III

912–929

Table 10 RULERS OF THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN SPAIN c. 700 – c. 900

I KINGS OF THE ASTURIAS



II KINGS OF LEON

García 910–914
 Ordono II 914–924
 Fruela II 924–925

III KINGS OF PAMPLONA

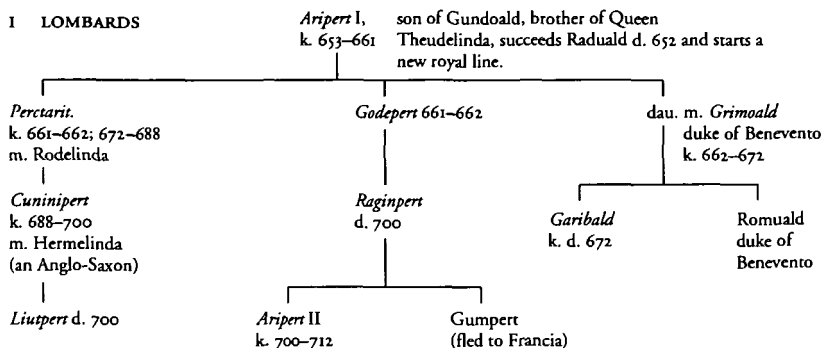
Enneco (Íñigo) Arista early ninth century–852(?)
 García Íñiguez 850s/860s
 García Jiménez (?)
 Fortun Garcés c. 882–905

IV COUNTS OF BARCELONA

Bera, 801–820
 Bernard 'of Septimania', by 827–829, 835–844
 Berenguer, c. 830–835
 Sunifred I, 844–848
 William, son of Bernard, by seizure, 848–849/50
 Aleran, 848–852
 Odalric, 852–c. 858
 Humfrid, c. 858–864
 Bernard 'of Gothia', 865–878
 Wifred I, 878–897/8
 Wifred II Borrell, 897/8–911/12
 Suñer, 911/12–954

Table II RULERS IN ITALY, c. 700 – c. 900

I LOMBARDS



Ansprand, Liutpert's tutor, succeeded Aripert II, d. 712

Liutprand 712–744, son of Ansprand. Liutprand's nephew

Hiltiprand, k. 744

Ratchis, duke of Friuli, k. 744–749

Aistulf, duke of Friuli, k. 749–756

Desiderius, duke of Brescia 757–774

Adelchis, 759–74

II CAROLINGIANS (compare Tables 4–6)

Charlemagne, 774–814, emp. 800–814

Pippin 781–810, sub-king

Bernard, 812–817, sub-king

Louis the Pious 813/14–840, emp.

Lothar 817–855, co-emp. 824–840; emp. 840–855

Louis II 840–875, emp. 855–875

Charles the Bald, son of Louis the Pious, emp. 875–877

Karlmann, son of Louis the German, k. 877–879

Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German, 879–887, emp. from 881

Berengar I of Friuli, son of Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious and Eberhard,
 count of Friuli, k. 888–924; emp. from 915

Guy/Wido, of Spoleto, k. 889–895, emp. from 891

Lambert, son of Guy k. 891–8, emp. from 892

Arnulf of Carinthia, son of Carloman, k. 894–896; emp. from 896

Louis III, grandson of Louis II, k. 900–905; emp. from 905

III PRINCES OF BENEVENTO

Arichis II (758), 774–87

Grimoald III, 787–806

Grimoald IV, 806–817

Sico, 817–833

Sicard, 833–839

Radelchis I, 839–851

Siconulf, 839–849, Prince of Salerno 849–851

Radelgar, 851–853

Adelchis, 853–878

Gaidaris, 878–881

Radelchis II, 881–884, 897–900

Aio, 884–891

Ursus, 891–892

Byzantine rule, 892–895

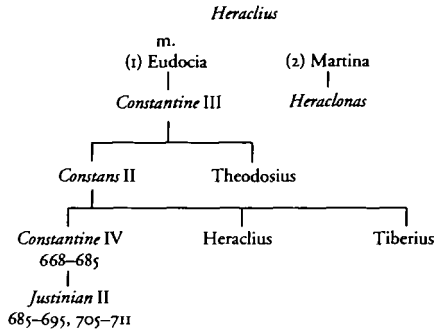
Guy IV of Spoleto, 895–897

Atenulf, 900–910

Landulf I, 910–943

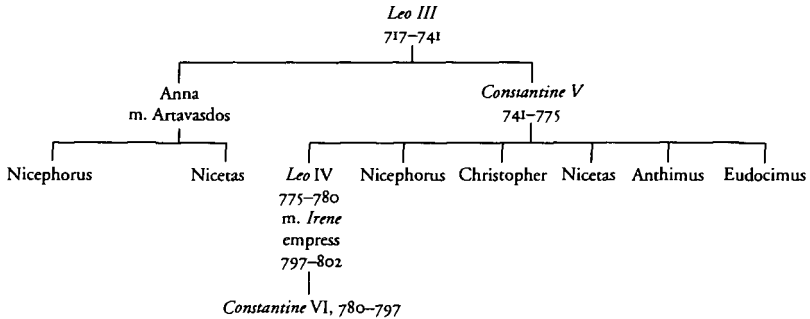
Table 12 BYZANTINE RULERS, c. 700 – c. 900

I HERACLIANS



Leontius, 695–698
Tiberius II, 698–705
Philippicus, 711–713
Anastasius II, 713–715
Theodosius III, 715–717

II SYRIANS



Nicephorus I, 802–811
Staurakios, 811
Michael I, 811–813
Leo V, 813–820

III AMORIANS

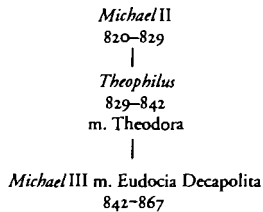
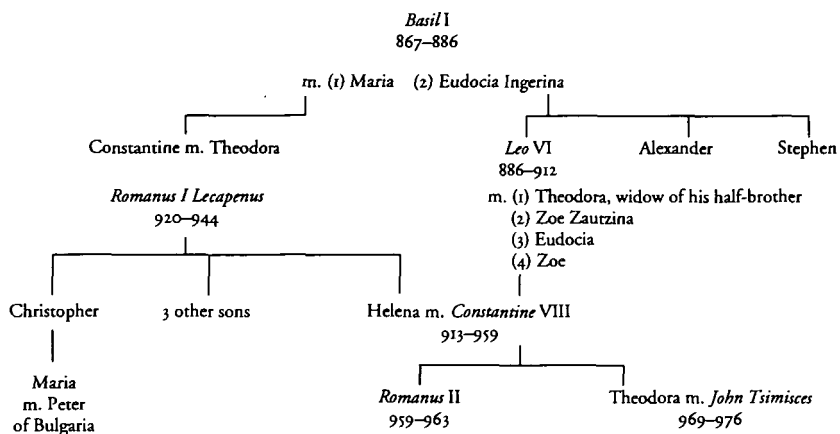


Table 12 BYZANTINE RULERS, c. 700 – c. 900 (cont.)

IV MACEDONIANS



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